/269/

Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city, the second today is made up of three groups of native villages: those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments. Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks, presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught. In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most part by several families. The total population, impossible to evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/276 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
•241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden
737 products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy), or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. P. 117--Analyst]

/282 cont./

582 601 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] [614] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewáguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

## Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuwawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out.

[241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

**Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

### HOUSES AND VILLAGES

In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

## INTRODUCTION

131 178 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso, Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north [161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the [65] [71] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is entrusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the [177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

• 241 [22] The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around [513] [512] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 175 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of these Indians extended from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and [648 181] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Nalikí said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

22 [241] But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering people. They spent only three months of the year, more or less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 167 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.

797 131 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally
designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from
Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to
Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and
Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924,
as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in
/114/ January of 1926, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of
1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up
to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as
maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26,
37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

132 In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
● 291 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as
orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer
at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane,
vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

163 In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
[163] 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve
children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri,
that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44
children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

[137] In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio
Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south
latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses
with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
[797] of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/140 cont./

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141

women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being
462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi-
482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads
[434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

462 It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians
22 the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat.
[241] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in
[171] the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8



578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 412 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to furnish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in 433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and 226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January, 222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the [283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8



five feet broad, which is partitioned off into a large number of apartments and occupied by an entire village of twenty or thirty families. It is a primitive tenement house.

The Bororó have no domestic animals whatever; and no captive wild creatures except the brilliant plumaged macaws and parrots, which are kept for their feathers, and for the pleasure of their companionship.

About the only agricultural work the Bororó do, in common with many other South American tribes, is to raise a little yellow corn, though they obtain but a mere handful of their annual food supply from this source. Agriculture is always carried on with extreme difficulty where the savages have no steel instruments with which to cut down the forest and prepare the soil. Those tribes that have secured axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives, sometimes plant considerable ground.

But the fact that all these tribes are communistic societies; that is, have all things in common, operates seriously, it seems to me, against their engaging in agriculture on a scale sufficiently large to produce their entire food supply. Their social arrangements are such that if any family should raise a quantity of produce, they would have to divide it with the rest of the community; so, after all their labor, they would find themselves without anything for tomorrow, and on a level with those who had not toiled. Consequently, there is but little incentive to provide food except as hunger drives them forth, in common with the other denizens of the wilds, to procure something for immediate consumption.

Therefore, the primitive man has knowledge of nearly everything in his savage world that is edible, whether it belongs to the animal or vegetable kingdom, and knows just when and where it is to be found, and how to obtain it. Some tribes look almost exclusively to the forest, others to the river, for their meat supply. Thus different tribes are either expert fishermen, or expert hunters. When fish become scarce, as they do at certain seasons, the fishermen tribes are forced to become vegetarians, largely.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8



795 825 262 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while 795 825 262 756 789 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir, and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

795 825 756 789 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish, for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 262 756 789 Corn also appears to have some connection with the demons, or is under a *tabu*, for the Bororó will not, under any

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8



circumstances, eat corn from a field until a few ears have first been brought to the sorcerer that he may perform his incantations over them, biting into them, dog-like. After this, the corn from that field may be freely gathered and eaten without further ceremony. 241 262 756 789

The souls of the departed, the *bopi*, are believed also to haunt and plot evil against the living, who pass their days in almost constant fear, and even in terror, because of them. Every few days, one or another of these superstitious children of the wilds imagines he sees a ghost or spook skulking in the jungle, or some strange object or shadow, or peculiar movement of the branches of the trees, or hears an unusual or seemingly uncanny sound. In a frenzy, he hastens to report what he has seen or heard, and, instantly, the whole city of savagery is wildly excited. These spooks, or wandering souls are nearly always seen just as solemn, mysterious night is taking possession of the land. Sometimes, the scare is a pure invention of the sorcerer. 775

These sorcerers, or tribal priests, are not chosen or appointed by men, the Bororó say, but by the *bopi*. Their calling to the priestly office appears to be somewhat in this manner: Some day, a Bororó is taken with some kind of a fit, and the village sorcerer, is called in to declare the nature of the case, and to say if the patient will live or die. Having considered the matter cunningly, he may say to the family something like this: "Piadudu is in mortal combat with a *bopi*. If he surrenders to the demon he will become a sorcerer, but if he continues to resist, he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is thought that he has given himself up to the *bopi*, and therefore fully qualified for the priesthood. But it seems to me that the certificate of priesthood lies largely in the ability of a Bororó to throw himself at will into a savage ecstasy or trance; or he may possess some powers of "mediumship," or metaphysical powers believed to emanate from the *bopi*, together with a good degree of native cunning and ready wit. These sorcerers are the most depraved men in the tribe. They are the bane of tribal life. They must nurture the illusion 756

B /201 cont./
*[171] [174] [241] in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gês, and probably also an older one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

T [192]

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of development are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

B [173] [261]

BO [241] [153]

T [241] [179]

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and,
as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the
most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in
Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
●241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never
used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens
among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians.
There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about
in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by
vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete
freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought
out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó
and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present
at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a
hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20
along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would
be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have
been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time.
As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all
the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case
conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and in-
dustrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack
of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about
mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief
Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap
themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/452 cont./

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
291 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
●241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

179 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/490 cont./

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice
574 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

415

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

301 [237] The principal ornaments used by men consisted of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitúta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*okopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pasoió*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putúku*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5 534 inches in length. During dances the men fastened rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

## ECONOMICS

### AGRICULTURE

●241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otuíyo*), sweet manioc (*otuíyo biboróno*), maize (*omatáka*), black and red beans (*dumatáka*), sweetpotatoes (*balarkúpo*), and cará (*tapatúku*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podri*), cotton (*akydmani*), [276] and urucú (*nodókuhtríka*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past. 222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*keír*), mangaba (*katorúkwa*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *kashorúkwa*). 237 Honey (*peíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*ántho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*sumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

## HUNTING AND FISHING

411 [726] The siriva palm wood bow (*boíko*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*ísho*) is made by fixing a notched 411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. 224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 [824] Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*bákye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (A)]